

HEADSTONE MANOR, PINNER, MIDDLESEX

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SUMMARY

*This is the history of one of the most important buildings in the county. Headstone Manor is the oldest known surviving timber-framed dwelling in Middlesex, with fabric from the early 14th to the 19th centuries, and it sits on an island within a water-filled moat. It has been thoroughly examined and reported on to the London Borough of Harrow and restoration is planned.¹ The best summary in the public domain, though slightly superseded, is to be found in B Cherry & N Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, London 3: North West* (1991), 280. The following article refers to the fabric only as necessary.*

ORIGINS

Headstone Manor is today a municipal park, the remnant of an estate whose history may reach back to the time of Domesday Book. The name is first found – as Hegton – about 1300. The existence of the estate can be pushed back further to 1233–44, when Archbishop Edmund Rich bestowed upon the vicar of Harrow the tithes of hay due from the land of Ailwin de la Hegge and his son William, and also that of the subsequent Roxeth Manor. Both were large freehold estates.² Ailwin and William took their name from their property. Over twenty spellings of Headstone have been found – Hegton, Hegeton, Heggston, Heggedowne, Heggetowne, Hedgstone, Hedston among them. It derives from two Saxon words – *haec* meaning enclosed land, and its derivatives *heg*, *heg*, *hege* which came to mean the enclosing hedge, and *tun* meaning a large homestead – thus the combination means an enclosed homestead of some size. With such a name Headstone may go back a century or two before 1233.

The large freehold estate of Headstone may

have originated as part of one of the knights' lands at Domesday, or by special grant from the lord. The other Harrow settlements with a name ending in 'tun' – Alperton, Kenton, Preston, and Uxendon – may have come about in the same way. None was ever more than a tiny hamlet dominated by a few freeholders.

Walter de la Hegge (or de la Haye, a variant of Hegge) acted as witness to many sales of free land on the Norbury side by Walter Aylward of Norbury between 1298 and 1304.³ He was always the second of the many witnesses, after John of Roxeth who was invariably the first. These two had the importance which in medieval times went with wealth or land, lending credence to Walter living at Headstone. One of the deeds he witnessed was for a purchase by William le Knel of Hegton. There is no evidence that there was ever a hamlet of manorial tenants at Headstone so le Knel was probably a subtenant of de la Hegge. There were common fields in the vicinity, as well as freehold land, but they belonged to the hamlets of Pinner, Weald, and Norbury. Headstone Green⁴ was at the junction of Headstone Lane and the entrance to the big estate and survived into the 19th century, but there was no house there before the end of the 18th century. Le Knel's name was perpetuated in Knells Croft (lying along Headstone Lane between Holmcroft Avenue and Elmfield Crescent).⁵

In September 1332 Headstone consisted of a house with two-and-a-half carucates (or hides) of land which Roger, the son of John of Rameseye, sold to Robert de Wodehouse.

THE 14th-CENTURY HOUSE

The oldest part of the house remaining on the moated island comprises one bay of an open hall

and a two-storeyed cross-wing at the lower, or service, end. It is timber-framed with arch-braced walls and crown-post roofs. The unusual hall is a hybrid of the aisled and aisle-less types.⁶ The remaining tie beam at the south-east is huge and was supported by four massive arch braces, a pair at each end. In the missing bay beyond the tie beam were bay windows with their own roofs set at right angles to the main one.⁷ The hall is still open and the rafters are black to this day with the soot deposited from the central hearth. The cross-wing contained, on the ground floor, a through passage from front to back, two small service rooms with a passage between them to a yard at the north-east, and a straight-flight staircase. There was one large room on the floor above, which originally projected over the lower floor at the front of the house, with perhaps a small garde-robe or privy at the rear. The interior decoration of the house is modest, no more than simple chamfers with plain step-stops on the remaining crown post in the hall, and on intermediate wall posts and tie beam braces in the hall and upper room. The hall would have been of two bays, possibly three, and in a house of this quality there would undoubtedly have been a cross-wing at the other end and further ancillary rooms or buildings. Archaeology has confirmed that the house stretched further south-east, and that there were earlier structures at the north-west of the cross-wing, which is where the detached kitchen would have been.⁸ Parch marks in the grass suggest that there were others along the south-east side of the island.

The technique of tree-ring dating estimates that the timber used was felled about 1310–15,⁹ so that the surviving hall and cross-wing were built shortly after and were already there when Roger sold Headstone in 1332. One of the Rameseyes was almost certainly the builder, but closer than this we cannot come without more information about the period from 1300 to 1332. Part of the Rameseyes' house remains on the moated island.

There is no information from which to date the moat, but it was such a usual adjunct to the houses of the well-to-do in the 13th and 14th centuries that this one was probably there by

1332. Its chief purpose was to convey status and give some seclusion to the house.

ROBERT DE WODEHOUSE

Wodehouse was a career churchman and pluralist, the second son of a Norfolk knight. He filled several important offices – Baron of the Exchequer in 1328, Keeper of the King's Wardrobe from 1322 till 1328, Archdeacon of Richmond from 1328, Treasurer of the Exchequer from 1329–30, and Chancellor of the Exchequer during 1331. When he was buying land in Harrow he held only the archdeaconry and a number of ecclesiastical preferments.

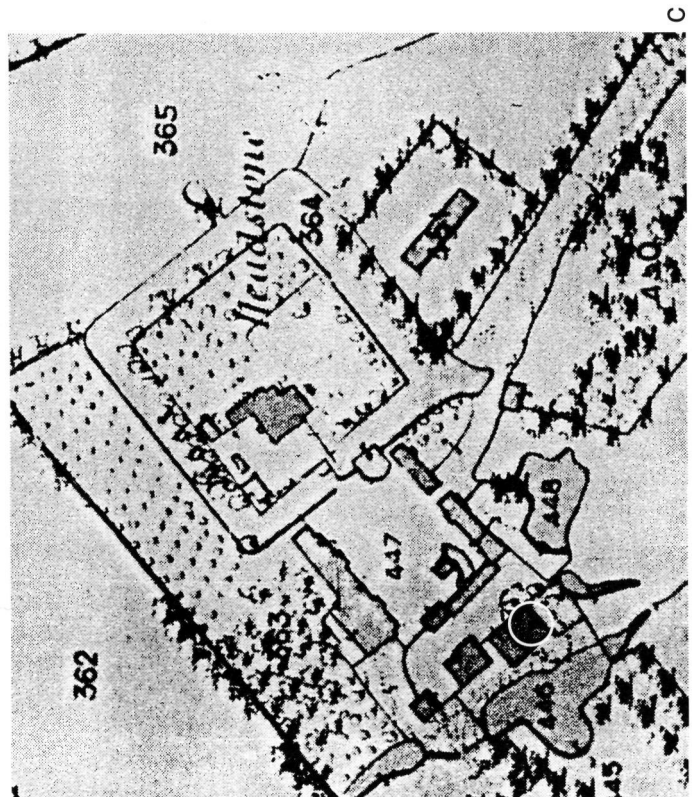
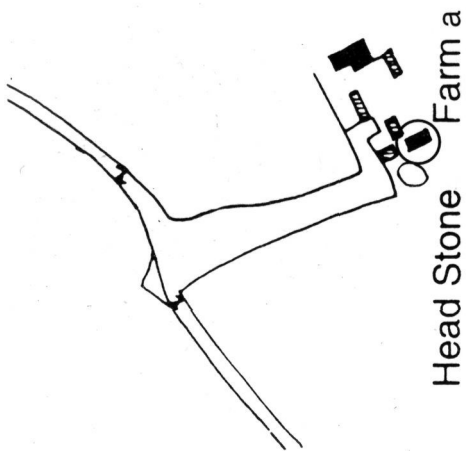
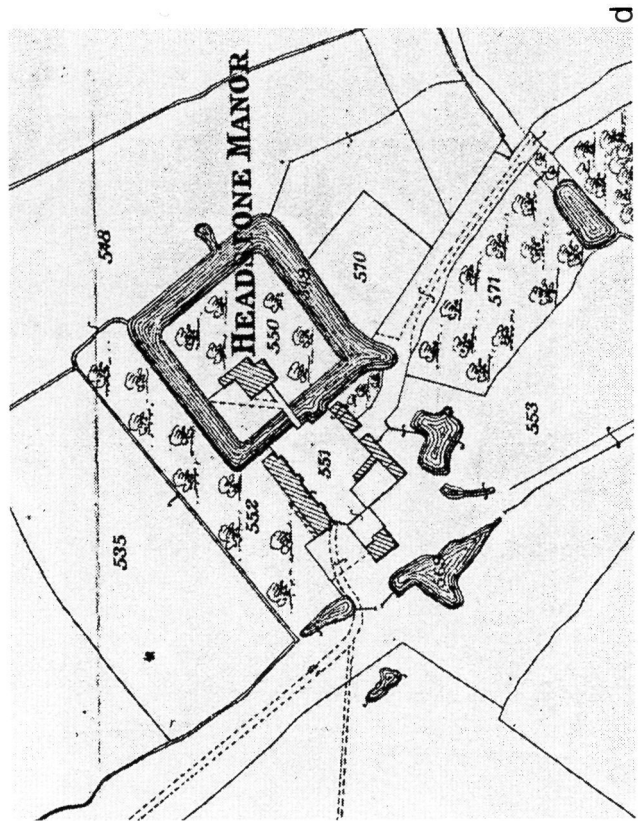
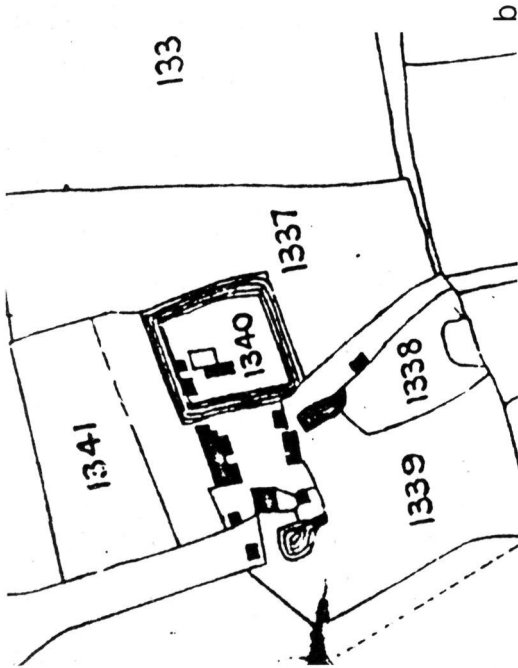
Wodehouse had bought land in the area before buying Headstone – six-and-a-half acres of land plus one of meadow from John Kendale and his wife Matilda in June 1331, and five acres of wood and a small amount of land from John at Green of Oxhey and his wife Katherine at Easter 1332.¹⁰ On 20 January 1337 it was alleged that his house in Harrow – Headstone – had been used by one Hugh Bussi to keep two young horses he had taken from John at Grove in Great Stanmore. Bussi claimed that because the deed had been done in Great Stanmore it was not within the jurisdiction of Harrow Manor, so there is no statement of Wodehouse's attitude or involvement.

By 1334 Headstone comprised a house, three carucates of land, twenty acres of meadow, and the five acres of wood, plus lettings worth 24s a year.¹¹ Wodehouse had to pay the lord of the manor a rent of sixty-five shillings and fivepence-three-farthings, and provide services worth a further 4s as follows:

to plough an acre of wheat in spring, and one and a half acres in Lent – worth 8d,
to plough for a day with his own plough at the great work with other free tenants, food provided by the lord – worth 8d,
to provide four men to hoe the wheat, food but no drink provided – worth 1d,
to reap an acre at harvest and one and a half at Lent – worth 15d,
to provide ten men to reap at two 'dry' works

Fig 1. *The house site.*

a. 1759, Isaac Messeder's Map of Harrow (LMA Acc. 643, 2nd deposit, map A. Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives). b. 1817, Harrow Enclosure Map (LMA Acc. 794/8, MR/DE/HAR/1. Courtesy of Harrow Reference Library). c. 1865, OS map. d. 1911, Sale particulars of Headstone Manor Farm 26.5.1911 (Courtesy of Harrow Reference Library). The subsidiary house/cottage is encircled on a and c



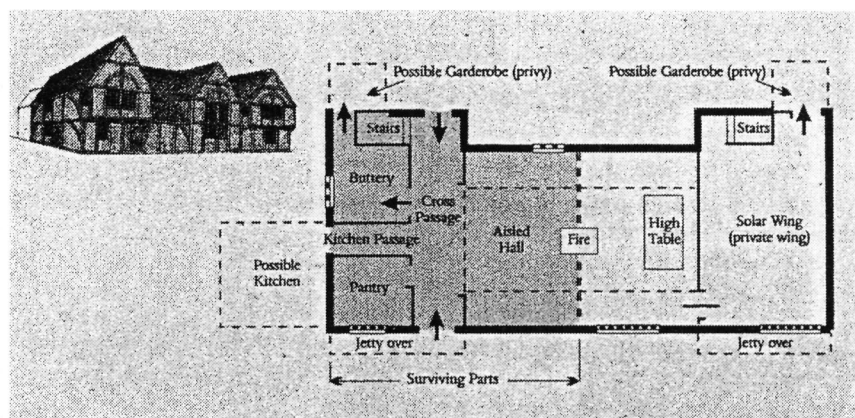


Fig 2. Conjectural plan and view of the Manor showing the possible extent of the hall and solar wing (*'The Headstone Manor Diary'* 1994. Courtesy of Harrow Reference Library)

in autumn, food but no drink provided – worth 10d,
 to provide four men to reap at the autumn work called Alelove, food and drink provided – worth 2d,
 to provide eight men to reap at the great work in autumn, a wheaten loaf (made at the rate of twenty per bushel), a dish of meat worth a halfpenny, and ale worth a halfpenny provided – worth 4d.

THE ARCHBISHOPS AT HEADSTONE

In July 1344 the lord of the manor, Archbishop John Stratford, purchased Headstone from Wodehouse. Stratford, educated at Merton College, Oxford, was a native of Shakespeare's town, where his father had founded the guild chapel and almshouses. He was one of those archbishops who gave most of their attention to politics. He entered royal service in 1317, became Bishop of Winchester in 1323, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1333. For most of the time from 1330 to 1340 he was Chancellor of England and one of Edward III's more favoured statesmen. He died in 1348 and lies in Canterbury cathedral, represented in effigy upon his tomb.

South of the Thames the archbishops had a series of residences in their scattered manors, so that they usually had a place to stay after a day of travelling. In Middlesex, where they held the manors of Harrow and Hayes, the archbishops chose to stay in Harrow, and prior to Headstone their house would have been Sudbury Court, the administrative centre of the manor. From 1344



Fig 3. Effigy of John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury 1333–48, in Canterbury Cathedral (©Crown copyright, NMR)

Headstone became their chief residence in Middlesex, a private place where the archbishop could work at his mightier concerns, or merely relax, undistracted by those who ran the manor for him.

Where the archbishops stayed can sometimes be deduced from the address from which correspondence was written, a reliable but by no means comprehensive indicator. There was little need for them to visit Middlesex, and they did not often do so. Stratford is very likely to have visited his new acquisition but only Langham and Chichele have left written evidence of their presence at Headstone. Simon Langham ordained five clergymen of differing degree in the chapel at Headstone on 23 May 1367. During another stay the following September he approved the appointment of the vicar of St Mary, Sandwich, and granted a pension and accommodation at Maidstone Hospital to an old retainer. William Whittlesea is said to have written from Headstone in 1369. Thomas Arundel wrote to the Bishop of London in 1407 urging solemn processions to mitigate the troubles of church and state.¹² In the next century John Chichele stayed during May and June 1434, and while there he appointed a new rector of Wimbledon, a chaplain for Sheldwyche, and agreed to the exchange of livings between two other clergymen.¹³ Early in June the manor court of Harrow was held in Pinner for the first time, almost certainly in the presence of the lord himself at Headstone, even though the record does not confirm it. In July 1435 a second court was held in Pinner, maybe at Headstone, but there is no independent evidence that Chichele was in the manor at the time. He was probably there during 1440 when the rector of Harrow entertained him. The rector was Simon Byrkhead, who had recently been, and perhaps still was, steward of the archbishop's household. Byrkhead paid for the steeple at St Mary's church and the beautiful carved roof of the nave, and is commemorated by a brass in the chancel which shows him resplendent in ecclesiastical robes. In the years that followed Chichele steadily felled the timber of Harrow to supply the building of his college of All Souls at Oxford, destroying in the process the supply of acorns for the inhabitants' swine.

Because Harrow was relatively out of the way for the archbishops, it is not surprising that Headstone never became a grand residence despite its large size and great timbers. They seem not to have bestowed on it the attention



Fig 4. Effigy of Simon Langham, Archbishop of Canterbury 1366–68, in Westminster Abbey (©Crown copyright, NMR)

they gave to some of their other residences. Assuredly they never embellished the interior structure, remaining content, as had Wodehouse, with the unpretentious level of decoration adopted by its less important builder. But a dovecote, a gatehouse, and especially a moat, were the marks of men of means. They may have been existing attractions for Stratford, or they may have been added by him or his successors. The chapel was an unusual feature for a house like Headstone at this time, and was therefore probably built by Stratford.

HEADSTONE AS PART OF THE DEMESNE

From 1344 Headstone was part of the demesne of Harrow manor, with a bailiff in control of its agricultural affairs, and the three-field system in use. About a third of its area, some 90 acres, was laid down to wheat in 1348. The stock comprised three plough horses, four other horses, and oxen; 3s was brought in by letting pigs come to feed on mast and acorn; the dovecote was worth 2s a year. There were permanent demesne staff – a hayward, a harrower, a carter, four ploughmen, even a dogsbody to make their food – but it is not clear which of the Harrow demesnes they worked on, or whether they moved among them all. As well as having some meals supplied, they were paid variously in cash and food, which was supplied in the form of beans and grain.¹⁴

There were fewer beasts at Headstone in 1397, just eight oxen and two horses, yet with 201 acres of arable there must still have been a great need for them.¹⁵

Compared with the Sudbury demesne its arable was better quality, worth 6d per acre against 3d, but its meadow was worth much less. That no doubt accounts for the fact that no sheep were mentioned at Headstone, though there were 200 at Sudbury. The woodland had been exploited by 1397 when nothing of saleable size was left. By 1458 it was sufficiently recovered that 2,500 feet of boards could be sent to Lambeth Palace, going in three carts to Westminster and thence by water across the Thames.¹⁶ Wood from the estate was used for repairs, but there are no examples of its use for new buildings.¹⁷

HEADSTONE AS A MANOR

Headstone was called a manor because it was demesne land on which some of the services due

to the lord were performed. Services due at Sudbury from 17 cottars there had been reallocated to Headstone – one day's work a week each for 49 weeks, with lunch provided by the lord, plus rent paid in the form of hens at Christmas, or 2d in lieu of each hen (a variable number this, being set at four hens from a married man and two from single men and widows).¹⁸ Services were also due from a head tenement called Woleyes which lay north of Headstone either side of Headstone Lane, and a piece of land north of Grimsdyke, called Woodrowe, was described in May 1392 as an appurtenance of Headstone, probably meaning that it owed rent or services.¹⁹ Headstone was merely a sub-manor and no court was held for it. The word manor has remained as part of the estate's name, giving a misleading impression that it had once been an independent manor in its own right.

LEASING THE ESTATE

Headstone was leased out at the end of the 14th century, like the other demesne estates. The first lessee was Guy de Mone (Anglesey).²⁰ He and Wodehouse were among the most worldly men after the archbishops to have been involved in Harrow manor. Mone rose through the archbishop's service, holding the top offices of treasurer in 1386, and steward of the lands from 1390–92 (the last non-lay holder). He was Receiver of the King's Chamber from 1391–92, Keeper of the Privy Seal 1396–97, and Treasurer in 1398 and 1402. From 1397–1407 he was Bishop of St David's. Mone was granted a 20-year lease of Headstone from Michaelmas 1382 at £12 a year. He had Sudbury and Pinner Park also, bringing the total rent to £31, though further details of dates and terms are missing. He gave them all up at Michaelmas 1397, on the eve of his appointment as bishop.

The new lessee of Headstone was a yeoman from Pinner or Weald, John Reding, who took a five-year lease at the same rent.²¹ This family had a long subsequent connection with the estate and John could have been the man who had been managing it while Mone pursued his career. Headstone was only twice more granted to outsiders. In July 1449 Robert Aubrey, gentleman, who already had a five-year lease of nearby land called Woodriding, took a ten-year lease of Headstone and Pinner Park at £13 6s 8d. This

was the first time the lessee's responsibilities at Headstone were set down in writing, stating what must have been usual practice. The lessee must fence the place properly at his own cost, though he might have wood from the estate for that purpose, for other repairs and for fuel. He must attend court. He must pay the occasional royal taxes on landholders called tenths and fifteenths. And he must allow the archbishop use of the house and garden if required. In similar form they were repeated until the 16th century. After Chichele's time hospitality for the archbishop probably meant accommodation and provision for his officials on their annual audit. Before Aubrey's lease expired a new one for 60 years was granted to Thomas Schingilton of Hartwell near Aylesbury and his wife Agnes at the same rent. This one did not last more than four years.²²

From 1458 the lessee, called the farmer, was invariably a member of the Reding family, except for a period after the death of William Reding in 1504 when his widow's second husband, Robert Marsh ran the estate. Leases like Aubrey's were granted for a term of four years each in 1485–86, 1488–89, and 1496–97, all to William Reding. The three leases granted in the 16th century are more highly detailed than the earlier ones and similar to each other. The one granted for 20 years to Robert Marsh in November 1514 was the first to stipulate that the farmer should live in the house and the first to specify the archbishop's entitlements in the barn. The three bays at the western end of the great barn were to be reserved for the horses etc. of the archbishop, as well as 'the long lodge and the little stable at the western gate'. Marsh must provide board, lodging, and laundry for the keepers of the horses when they were there, 30 quarters of oats a year – for which he would be paid – and straw for no charge. For £5 a year Marsh was to deliver to the archbishop the hay of Round Meadow, Three-croft Meadow, and Plomstrowe, some 20 acres. The lease was replaced by a similar one for another 20 years in July 1527, this time granted jointly to Marsh and Richard Reding, the son of William. After Marsh's death a 34-year lease was granted to Richard in June 1535.²³

OTHER BUILDINGS AT HEADSTONE

During the currency of these leases the only estate entries in the archbishop's accounts were

for the rents received, but from 1458 Headstone was let annually, and thereafter more details were included.²⁴

A new bridge cost 48s 6d in 1466–67. There was underpinning also, presumably to the bridge, though this is not explicit. A mason named John Barmynger was hired for twelve days at a rate of 6d a day to do the underpinning. Four cartloads of sand were bought and transported in, and 3s 3d was spent digging stone. The moat was cleaned and refilled in the same year taking three labourers 33 days to do it, at a total cost of 33s.

Carpenters, tilers, plasterers, and labourers were frequently at work on repairs to the house. It had a tiled roof, at least from the 15th century, when tiles in their thousands, and laths to hold them, were purchased for repairs: 9,000 in 1466, 6,000 in 1486–87, 10,000 in 1487–88. Robert Tiler and his assistant worked for 30 days on the roofs of Headstone and Woodhall in 1471–72, receiving 32s 6d and Thomas Lambe spent 40 days retiling the Headstone house in 1487–88, for wages of 10d per day.

The chapel was either repaired or taken down in the same year at a cost of 33s 4d – the word in the account can be read as 'renovare' or 'removare'. Removal would be a sign that the archbishops were no longer visiting the house; indeed, there is no record of an archbishop's visit after Chichele, and no further reference to the chapel. The sum however suggests repair. The interpretation is open. The cash for this was authorised to be sent over from Hayes, together with 46s 8d for repairs to 'the new house by the great gate'. It is the only example involving Harrow of the quite common practice of subvention payments made between the archbishop's manors.

The chief farm buildings which received attention were barns, though attention of the wrong sort had occurred in October 1424 when John Jankyn of Weald built himself two houses using timber, laths, and nails intended for 'the lord's barn at Headstone'.²⁵ There were repairs to a two-door barn in 1489–90. The present great barn was built in 1505–6 by carpenter Richard Boughton, who was not a local man. He received £20 for his work 'and all woodworking necessities'. A further £24 11s 8½d was spent on the 'wages of two other carpenters and other labourers and sundry payments to persons for carriage of wood with nails, lathes, wedges, tiles, bricks, lime, sand and other necessities'. This was the new barn whose interior

space was carefully allocated in the leases of 1514 and later.²⁶

Other farm buildings included stables, racks, and mangers (1482–83), a new animal shelter (1489–90), and a great stable (1496–97). In 1514 a new stable for three or four horses was scheduled to be built on the island.²⁷

Part of the layout of buildings at Headstone has to be guessed. The house and its domestic appendages, including the chapel and the four-horse stable of 1514, would have been on the island, but the dovecote need not have been. A few of the more important retainers may have had lodgings on the island during visits by the archbishop. In the 15th century it contained a fruit garden. The principal farm buildings – barns, stables, lodgings for others – perhaps formed a courtyard on the mainland as was generally the custom.

Incorporated into this circuit should have been the gatehouse – ‘the great gate’ (1487–88), ‘the western gate’ (1514 lease), ‘the old gatehouse’ (1553 lease). In 1553 there were old structures adjoining it ‘standing at the end of a long stable towards the west’. The manor house is not neatly aligned on the four points of the compass, however, so ‘west’ could mean opposite the bridge or at the further end of the great barn. The former would have been the more traditional position. At Headstone the gatehouse would have been timber framed like the house, and of two storeys. Permission to demolish it, and the ‘old houses adjoining to the same’, and to re-use the materials was given that year. It is possible that these materials are incorporated into the moat end of the present small barn.²⁸

THE ARCHBISHOP LOSES HEADSTONE

On 30 December 1545 Archbishop Cranmer surrendered the Manor of Harrow to King Henry VIII and on 5 January following it was bought by the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, Sir Edward North.²⁹ The lease of 1535 to Richard Reding was left undisturbed. In 1553 Sir Edward, now Lord North, granted an extension of the lease to Richard and his son Thomas, to run from expiry at Michaelmas 1569 for a further 33 years.³⁰ The terms were broadly the same as before, except that the tenant was released from the duty to reserve accommodation, hay from the three meadows was not mentioned, and permission to pull down the gatehouse was given. With the death of Thomas Reding about

1586 the extension seems to have been terminated. Then or soon afterwards Headstone was let to a quite different tenant – one from London.

THE HOUSE IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH I

Thomas Malbie was baptised at St Mary at Hill on 16 March 1566. His father Arthur, a freeman of the City, was one of those asked to contribute to Lord Leicester’s expedition to the Netherlands in 1585.³¹ Thomas’s occupation is unknown, but he was ‘at sea’ in May 1597,³² and owned a large number of properties in London and Essex when he died at the end of 1599. His wife Lettice was pregnant at the time, but the child miscarried or died. She had a life interest in several of the properties, plus the residue.³³ In March 1600 she married Sir John Rotherham of Seymours, Bucks, at St Mary Aldermanbury and before the end of the year was again a widow. She had brought much to the second marriage from the first, and in his will Sir John allowed her the use of household stuff at Seymours for two years, while unmarried, provided she gave security for them to William Willoughby, of Grays Inn, his heir.³⁴ The security was in the form of an indenture, dated 20 January 1601, with two accompanying schedules of goods.

The first schedule refers to ‘goods of the late Thomas Malby that were at his house called Pinnar in Middlescx’.³⁵ A copy of both schedules, but not the indenture, is to be found in the papers of Lord North, owner of Headstone, who had no known connection with the Malbie, Rotherham, or Willoughby families apart from the schedules. He had three houses in Pinner. Woodhall had been leased to the Edlin family for 40 years from 1556 and was in their continuous occupation until 1617 at least, when Richard Edlin of Woodhall died. Pinner Park had been leased for 40 years from 1560, but during the last eight years of its term the tenancy was fiercely disputed at law between sub-lessees. Only Headstone could have been available for North to let out, following the death of Thomas Reading, so it must have been Malbie’s residence. If North had let it furnished or partly furnished, that would explain why he had a copy of Lettice Malbie’s inventory of tenant’s possessions on the premises; indeed, apart from three stools and a set of andirons in the parlour her goods amounted

mostly to bedding. The list gives the names of the rooms in which the items were found.

It is an important document for Headstone, the first of only two documentary references to the interior of the house prior to the 20th century. Ten places are mentioned: the parlour, the great parlour, the little parlour, the great chamber over the parlour, the little chamber over the great parlour, the chamber over the little parlour, the gallery, the chamber at the further end of the gallery, the middle chamber in the gallery, the chamber in the higher end of the gallery. All of these must have been in the part of the house that was demolished long ago, probably occupying the cross-wing at the high end and a further wing or other extension reaching south or east. The great parlour and the parlour may have been the same room, for, if there were three parlours, it would have been unusual for only two to have had a particular designation. Furthermore the great chamber of a house, often with a smaller room beside it, was usually over the great parlour, which commonly occupied the whole ground floor of a wing. At Headstone the most likely layout would have been for the great parlour (?parlour) to occupy the ground floor of the cross-wing at the upper end of the hall, with the great chamber and the 'little chamber over the great parlour' above it. The gallery was usually a wide corridor on an upper floor, in this case with three rooms off it, the chamber 'at the higher end' presumably being nearest the great parlour, the chamber 'at the further end of the gallery' being furthest from it.

Whether Thomas Malbie rented the whole estate, or just the house, is a matter of conjecture, but there can be no doubt that it was a highly developed house by this time, well able to provide plenty of private accommodation for tenants who were used to town houses. Though his family was rooted in the City parish of St Mary at Hill – his father Arthur was also buried there in January 1599 – there is no burial of a Thomas Malbie there following the date of his will. Perhaps he died in Pinner and was buried there, where the registers prior to 1654 are missing. In his will he remembered the poor of Pinner as well as of St Mary at Hill. Another member of the Reading family, Henry, the younger son of Thomas the last known leaseholder of Headstone, had returned to the place by November 1609.³⁶ Henry was either renting the house of his childhood, or was managing the rest of the estate.

THE 17th CENTURY: HEADSTONE BECOMES A PRIVATE ESTATE

Simon Rewse, the next town resident of Headstone, had made his way in the service of the North family. Roger, the second Lord North, had died in 1600, to be succeeded by his 19-year-old grandson Dudley, a young man of engaging personality, an ardent participator in court life, and a personal friend of Henry, Prince of Wales. The principal properties of the North family were Kirtling Hall in Cambridgeshire and the Charterhouse in London, to which Dudley may have added Bocket Hall near Hatfield, Herts, by his marriage to Frances Bocket.

The first record of Simon Rewse is a letter dated 6 January 1604 which he wrote from Bocket Hall to Lord North in London.³⁷ He reports the audit of the previous November, and his problems in calling in some debts (including rents at Harrow) and settling others. Selling woodland at Bocket Hall was proving difficult. Rent would be due shortly from the Charterhouse which would be paid over to Lady North for housekeeping. At Christmas 'there hath been little company but the neighbours and tenants, which could not be avoided'. In another, but undated, letter on similar business, he also reported that he had bought (?) two pounds of tobacco, 'the best that I could get with the help of those that have skill in it, and delivered it to Mr. Cade to be conveyed to your lordship. It cost me 32 shillings'. This must have been a London errand to include such a fashionable luxury.

By 1612, if not before, Rewse was at Headstone. On 10 May he obtained a lease for 21 years from Ladyday 1613, and by 5 December 1629 he had succeeded, by a succession of additional short leases, in extending it to Ladyday 1651.³⁸ The fine for the agreement of 1621 set out the property as a messuage, garden, orchard, 200 acres of land, 40 acres of meadow, 50 acres of pasture, all in Pinner, for a sum of £240.³⁹ On 1 December 1630 he purchased the estate outright for £1800 2s 6d, described as the manor and manor house and farm of Headstone with outhouses, dovchouse, barns, stables, gardens, orchards, plus a field called Cockhills field, and seven and a half pieces of land etc. within the fields of Headstone bought from Thomas Reading in September 1624.⁴⁰

Rewse may or may not have continued in North's service while at Headstone. He had named his first son Dudley, after Lord North; Francis his second

son, baptised at St Mary's Church, Harrow, on 10 March 1612, seems to have honoured North's lady. Rewse's property was the largest in Pinner, and he took some interest in local affairs. His subsequent children were probably baptised in Pinner, whose registers have not survived for this period, for they were not baptised in Harrow. He directed that he himself should be buried in Pinner.⁴¹ He gave a new account book for the Pinner church wardens in 1622, which has survived, and in the same year was named as the first trustee of the will of the minister in Pinner, John Dey.⁴² In October 1629 North appointed Rewse steward of the manor courts for life and Rewse quickly dealt with several years' arrears of business, to the administrative advantage of the tenants and his own financial benefit. This must have been to prepare the manors for North to sell. Rewse lost no time in selling his rights as steward to the new owners of the manor of Harrow just over a year later.⁴³

THE CIVIL WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

Rewse died about June 1638, leaving three adult sons, Dudley, Francis, and Simon, and a fourth, whom he called 'my poor little Tom Rewse', by his second wife Ann, widow of John Burnell of Great Stanmore. His references to her in his will are among the most tender one could hope to find: '...to whom if I should give all that I have it were too little for her faithfull love and true care she hath now had of me since I was married unto her... to my youngest son Thomas in respect of my love for his mother for giving him to me...'. This will gives the second glimpse of the house at Headstone. Ann was to have the use of the whole house for three months, and then part of the house 'from the entry at the lower end of the hall (together with the use of the entry and hall in common) northwards to the moat with free liberty of ingress, egress and regress'. This would have included the existing lower cross-wing and the ground and first floor rooms directly north of it, which are considered to have been added in the late 16th century and remodelled during the 17th century to something like the form they have today. The present staircase hall and parts east were probably not then built. There is no inventory of goods but Ann could have the use of any goods in or about the house during her life, and Simon gave her 'all my scarlet and blue velvet chairs and stools', and, very importantly, 'my carriage with the horses and furniture thereto belonging'. Outside

the house Ann was to have 'the outhousing from the gate house under the pigeon house to the moat'. Maybe Richard Reding did not pull the gatehouse down in 1553, or perhaps it was replaced to maintain the status of the house for lessees. The wording implies that the dovecote was not on the island. Indeed the house would have been spoiled if the gatehouse and all Ann's entitlement were crammed on its western side. The great barn was not hers, so her outhousing must have been on the southern side of the yard. In addition, she was to have half the profit of the orchard and garden, 20 loads of wood a year from the estate, the use of Kings Croft, Little Meadow, Rough Croft, part of New Green from the 'east corner' of the moat to Perryfield Gate, and some pieces in the common fields. She should have an annuity of £100, plus another £20 if she chose to live elsewhere. Dudley inherited the manor on condition he fulfilled the terms of the will, Francis and Simon were to receive £400 each, and Thomas was to have £1,000 at his majority. 'To that truly noble man the Lord North' Rewse left £20, lamenting that he could not afford more.

The next quarter-century was a difficult period in Headstone's history for Simon Rewse had placed heavy burdens upon it.⁴⁴ Its annual value, or income, was stated in 1646 as £200, yet £100 of it, or £120 as it turned out, was to be paid to his widow. From the balance, or from sales, must come legacies exceeding £800, plus provision for £1,000 to be paid to young Thomas after a decade or so.

Dudley Rewse failed to pay the widow's share and the legacies, so the estate devolved upon Francis about 1642. This was the year the Civil War began, and Francis joined the forces of King Charles I, who made him a knight. Francis was at the siege of Oxford in 1646, which ended in disaster for the king. The parliamentary authorities had often sequestered, or confiscated, the property of royalist supporters. After their victory at Oxford they offered the opportunity to compound, or avoid confiscation by paying a fine of one tenth to one third of the total value of the property in question. Francis petitioned for this option at Goldsmith's Hall in September and a fine of £300 was imposed in October. He sought a review, but nothing further was done. The option seems to have lapsed, for in March 1647 the Committee for Middlesex ordered Headstone to be sequestered so that they might recoup Francis' original interest in it of £400. They negotiated with the third son, Simon Rewse, and

agreed to let him take the property on payment of £50 plus another £50 to be paid later.

On 2 May 1649 the three brothers sold Headstone for £4,200 to William Williams, a London merchant, on a 1,000-year lease. In view of subsequent events the Rewses seem to have been less than open, and Williams to have been unwary in checking the encumbrances upon the estate. As far as Francis' fine was concerned however the confusing behaviour of the authorities themselves might have excused his assumptions. In June the Committee reviewed the sequestration order, deemed the £400 to be satisfied and discharged the order. Three years later the Committee for Compounding, apparently unaware of the sequestration, noticed non-payment of the £300 fine, and in December 1652 ordered the seizure of Headstone. Williams protested and petitioned for discharge of this latest confiscation, claiming he had paid the full purchase money to the Rewses, and knew of no fine save £200 which had been discharged. A full report was made on 26 January 1653, but there is no note of the decision thereupon.

Whatever that decision was, Williams did continue as owner, and perhaps had a few years of peaceful enjoyment. Then, in the summer of 1661, Thomas Rewse lodged a claim jointly against Dudley Rewse and William Williams for the £1,000 due to him under his father's will, which remained a charge upon the estate.⁴⁵ He had grown up in Great Stanmore, whither Ann Rewse had returned sometime during Dudley's period with Thomas and her two daughters from her first marriage. There he stayed, married Mary Norwood in 1666, and died in 1690. Both he and his mother were buried there. He was awarded the sum plus interest – it was a few years since he had attained his majority – all to be paid by November, and in default he had the right to enter the estate to get it.⁴⁶ In the previous March Williams had mortgaged Headstone for £5,000, but Rewse's legacy was still outstanding in July 1669. On 12 August Williams sold Headstone, with the mortgage outstanding, to two London merchants, Phillip Langley and Robert Pascall. On 15 November 1670 Thomas sold his claim and right to enter to George Kellum of London for the equivalent of the still-unpaid sum of £1,037 14s. On 31 May 1671 Margaret Chitt of London bought all the interests in Headstone for £7,000.⁴⁷ Upon her death it passed to her daughter Sarah, wife of Sir William Bucknall, and so to their son John and his heirs.

ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO HEADSTONE, 16th CENTURY AND LATER

The question arises as to when certain internal modifications still apparent were carried out at Headstone. A two-storey extension was added to the north-west of the cross-wing in the area where the kitchen had been, and subsequently altered. Single-storey extensions with cellars were added to the north-east of the cross-wing and the hall, while a porch was built between them to shelter the eastern door of the cross passage. The north-west wall of the hall was stabilised, and a new screen with round-headed openings inserted. The north-east wall of the hall was panelled and included a built-in settle with turned legs. At first-floor level a casement window was inserted into the wall of the lower wing so as to permit observation of activity in the hall below. The sequence of these works is not known, but their style is appropriate to the 'Jacobean' period, about 1580 to 1640.⁴⁸ There are small differences – plain chamfers were used in the single-storey extensions, while the relics of the screen have quarter-round chamfers. The jambs of the porch had carved therms or sphinxes at mid-height, known only from a pencilled sketch on the back of a mid-19th-century deed, for they have been removed and replaced by insertions of plain board.⁴⁹ Though necessarily more difficult to date as a result, these could also have been of the Jacobean period. The great four-light, mullioned and transomed window in the south-west wall of the hall however, which may have been moved from its original position, has hollow and quarter-round chamfers, more 17th- than 16th-century in style. It is almost exactly the same as those of the old church of St John, Great Stanmore, rebuilt in 1632.

The work at Headstone could have been done by the owner, Lord North, between the departure of the Redings and time of Thomas Malbie, or by Simon Rewse, or by both of them. Since Rewse took a long lease in 1612, and was careful to extend it regularly, he is the more likely person to have undertaken such modernisations. He paid £1,800 to buy the estate in 1630, a very low figure compared with the £3,443 and £3,156 paid for Woodhall and Pinner Park respectively, which were roughly comparable with Headstone.⁵⁰ It looks as though the difference took account of the premiums already paid for the leases, and perhaps major work

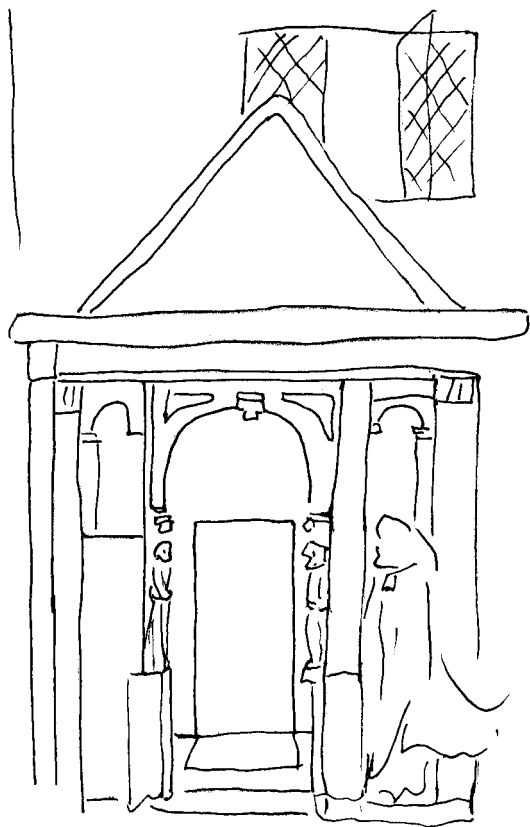


Fig 5. The porch, traced from the Sale Particulars of 5 June 1865 at the Harrow Reference Library. The large figure at the right seems to be an extra doodle (Courtesy of Harrow Reference Library)

carried out by the lessee, or, less likely, needing still to be carried out by him.

Subsequently a new wing of three bays was added alongside the cross-wing. On the ground floor it provided a kitchen with a (probably contemporary) oven, and a room to its east raised over a cellar, while above were two rooms with fireplaces, and in the roof was an attic with a three-light window. The western void of the stack formed a smoking chamber, whose only visible access is now from the attic, where rails and hooks can still be seen. The western bay of the wing contains the staircases and landing which now serve the whole building.

William Williams is the most obvious person to have added this range, whose most telling evidence of style, the landing balustrade, is more appropriate to the period after 1630. The windows have quarter-round mouldings. It is just

possible that it was added by Simon Rewse towards the end of his life, though if so it would mean that he had set aside a huge part of the building, including all the most modern parts, for the use of his widow. None of the Rewse brothers seems likely to have had the wherewithal or inclination for additions.

THE SUBDIVISION OF HEADSTONE

Another very significant change is attributable to Williams, namely the reorganisation of Headstone into two farms. They were set out in the mortgage of 1661: the chief house with 100 acres of meadow, 200 of arable and 20 of wood, and another house with 80 acres of arable and 20 of pasture.⁵¹ The division lasted until the late 18th century, but there is never a clue as to which fields belonged to which nor how the farmyard buildings were shared.

The division catered for a son or other close relative. The evidence comes from the will of Ann Walters, who can be equated with 'the old nurse who died at Headstone' buried in Pinner on 15 February 1662. Her will, dated 9 February, refers to two masters – John Williams, who had three children, and William Williams, appointed as her overseer.⁵² On 16 July 1667 David Williams was baptised at Pinner, the son of John, a gentleman.

Two options present themselves. The house on the island may have been subdivided – though in this case the place should have been described in deeds as a house divided into two – or the second house may have been elsewhere. There was a second house in the outer courtyard, on or close to the possible site of the medieval gatehouse, identifiable on all maps from Messeder's Harrow map of 1759 to the O.S. map of 1896. It was gone by 1913. An undated photograph shows the corner of a house which is probably the one in question. It was constructed of late period timber framing of about 1650 to 1750, so could have been built by Williams.

The Hearth Tax returns support the notion of two houses. William Williams was assessed for 10 hearths in 1664 and 11 in 1672.⁵³ No other Williams was assessed. There should have been four hearths in the second house – the number which a gentleman might reasonably require in a new dwelling. The seven remaining for the main house should have been the four in the stack serving the lower end cross-wing and its

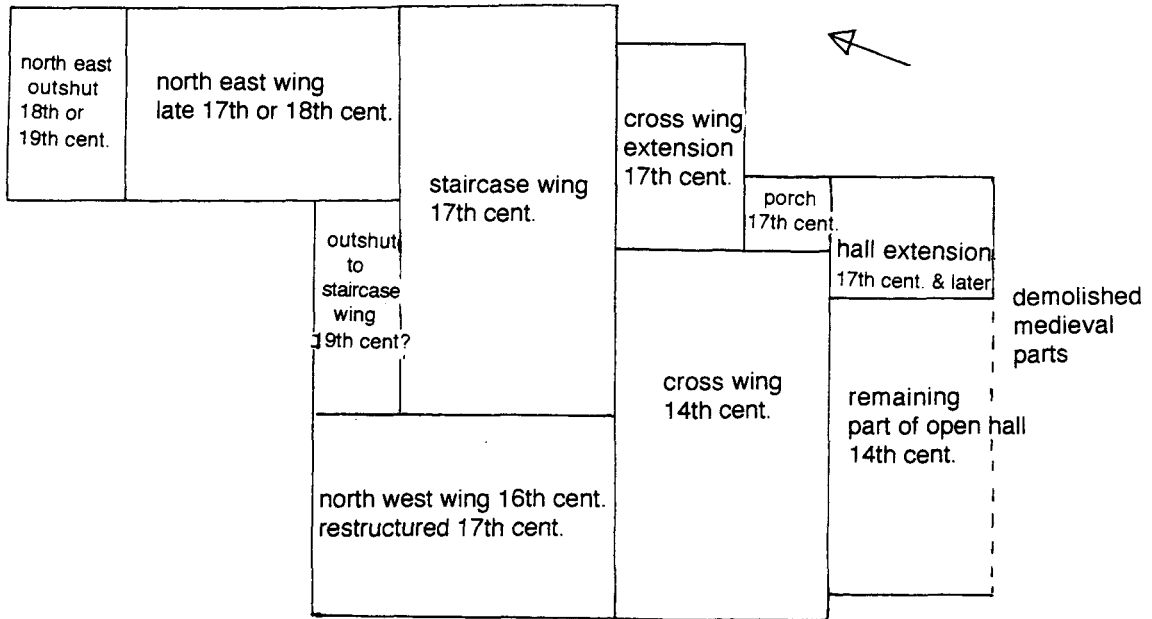


Fig 6. Conjectural building dates of the existing building

northern extension, and the three in the new staircase wing. On this basis any other medieval part with a hearth was gone, and the open hall was either already reduced in size, or its hearth, if still open and chimney-less, was discounted.

The gatchouse mentioned in Simon Rewse's will must have been demolished to make way for the second house and some other medieval parts may have been pulled down at about this time. All this expenditure may have been the reason for the loan of £5,000 which Williams raised by mortgage in 1661, and for his inability or reluctance to pay Thomas Rewse his legacy.

OWNERS AND OCCUPIERS OF THE LATE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES

Sir William Bucknall, the son of a Derbyshire husbandman, had sought and found his fortune in London, part of which was undoubtedly his marriage to Sarah Chitt. He was a member of the Salters Company and the Brewers Company in turn, becoming Master of the latter at the age of 41 in 1670, when he was knighted. He accumulated business interests, and from time to time the farm of various government revenues – those of Northumberland and Durham, Northern Ireland, the National Customs, the London

Excise Duty (this with a consortium) – and became M.P. for Liverpool in 1670. He also made loans to King Charles II. His principal country estate lay at Oxhey Place in Hertfordshire, acquired 1668 – where his family later intermarried with the Grimstons of Gorhambury. He also bought the manorial rights in the Manor of the Moor in 1672 and of Wigenhall in 1675. His town residence was at Queenhithe. He is unlikely to have stayed at Headstone, which his mother-in-law owned. Ownership stayed with the Bucknall family until 1854, though passing sometimes through the female line, and was often used as security for loans. When Thomas Estcourt acquired it in 1814 he immediately considered selling it to provide money for building at Oxhey.⁵⁵

Apart from deeds, the only other documentary information about the farms between 1670 and the late 18th century comes from the occasional rates lists.⁵⁶ Sir William paid rates for the whole estate in 1671 and 1674 (though William Williams still appears on the Hearth tax list for 1672). After Bucknall's death the houses were let separately. Stephen Wall, gentleman, was at the main house in 1690, followed by Nicholas Spalding (early 18th century), Thomas Corbett from 1726–49, Robert Poulter from 1752–55, and Daniel Wilshin junior from 1757. At the

subsidiary house there was John Clifford in 1690, and Daniel Wilshin from 1726–49 and 1752–57.

Stephen Wall's wife Ann died on 8 December 1685. John Clifford was buried in 1717. Nicholas Spalding was a contemporary of Clifford, according to a mortgage of 1761.⁵⁷ Thomas Corbett died in 1749, leaving a young family. Robert Poulter was described as 'gentleman, of Swallow Street Piccadilly' when his daughter Elizabeth was buried at Pinner in 1755. Three generations of Wilshins farmed Headstone. After the death of Daniel Wilshin senior (1696–1767) both farms were in the occupation of his son Daniel Wilshin junior (1730–96), who must have spent his whole life at Headstone.⁵⁸ He had a 21-year lease from 1771, his son John another from 1798 at £800 a year, and Thomas Hill a third from 1821 at £700. Hill died in 1836 and his son John became tenant on an annual basis at £650 a year. The diminishing rent coincided with the very low economic state of farming in England following the Napoleonic Wars.

CHANGES TO THE HOUSE IN THE LATE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES

To judge from the timbering, the upper storey of the hall extension, with its first floor exit, and the extension at the north-east corner of the staircase wing were built late in the 17th or first half of the 18th century. Both contain much reused material in roofs and walls – including some smoke-blackened rafters in the roof of the north-east extension.⁵⁹ The façade of the house on the island was removed and replaced with brick in the 18th century, and the north-east extension, visible from the front, was treated similarly. This may have been the occasion when the set of seriffed initials and two dates were carved into the side wall of the main wing and filled with a white mixture. They are too conspicuous and careful to be the graffiti of workmen. Not all of the fifteen pairs can be identified, but seven coincidentally match the initials of Daniel Wilshin junior, his wife, and five of his children in their baptismal sequence, except for Jason, the first, baptised in 1759. Reading from the left they would represent:

DW 1772	Daniel Wilshin (the D is hidden under the fascia of the doorcase)
EW	Elizabeth Wilshin – wife, died 1816
MW	Mary Wilshin – daughter baptised 1761

CW	Charlotte Wilshin – daughter baptised 1763
AW	Ann Wilshin – daughter baptised 1765
(D)W	Daniel Wilshin – son baptised 1766
JW	John Wilshin – son baptised 1769

WB 1772 may be for William Bucknall, a member of the owning family, though the actual owner at this date was John Bucknall. The next ones, JH and AH could be John and Ann Hill, tenants from 1836. None of the others – JW, CW, CM, SM, JW, EM – have been identified yet.

Though 1772 may not be the actual date of the frontage, the bricks and pilasters at the front corners so closely resemble the pilastered red-brick façade of 25–27 High Street, Pinner, put up about 1760 by William Bodimeade of Harrow Weald, the premier local brickmaker, as to make it almost certain both are his work.⁶⁰ It was clearly intended to create a harmonious frontage, with the old parts screened by the length of garden wall which still stands. This was the house as it is now and as it can be seen in the earliest illustration of about 1800, save for a small single-storey addition north of the staircase wing probably added in the 19th century. It was insured with Sun Fire Office in 1797 at a total value of £500 – £200 for the house, £200 for the large barn and stable, £50 for a stable and cowhouse, and £50 for three stables.⁶¹

THE AREA OF THE ESTATE

Sir Edward North's survey of 1547 gives the names, areas, and usage of 18 fields in Headstone Manor, totalling 227 acres and 2 roads.⁶² They included two pieces west of Headstone Lane, detached from the main cluster. One, called Cocketsfield, had been let as a separate field since the early 15th century, usually to the farmer. The other was called Knellscroft, perhaps once the land of subtenant William le Knel. Both may have been part of the 24s-rents receivable in 1344. The 1547 acreage is well below the 350 plus 25 acres of 1344 (treating the carucate as similar to the 120 acres of the hide). However, the first plan of Headstone Manor to have field names and areas, dated 1819, reveals so much continuity or similarity in the names – only three do not reappear in some guise – that an approximate map for 1547 can be constructed.⁶³ It is clear that several fields at the centre were omitted from the 1547 list, and when they are

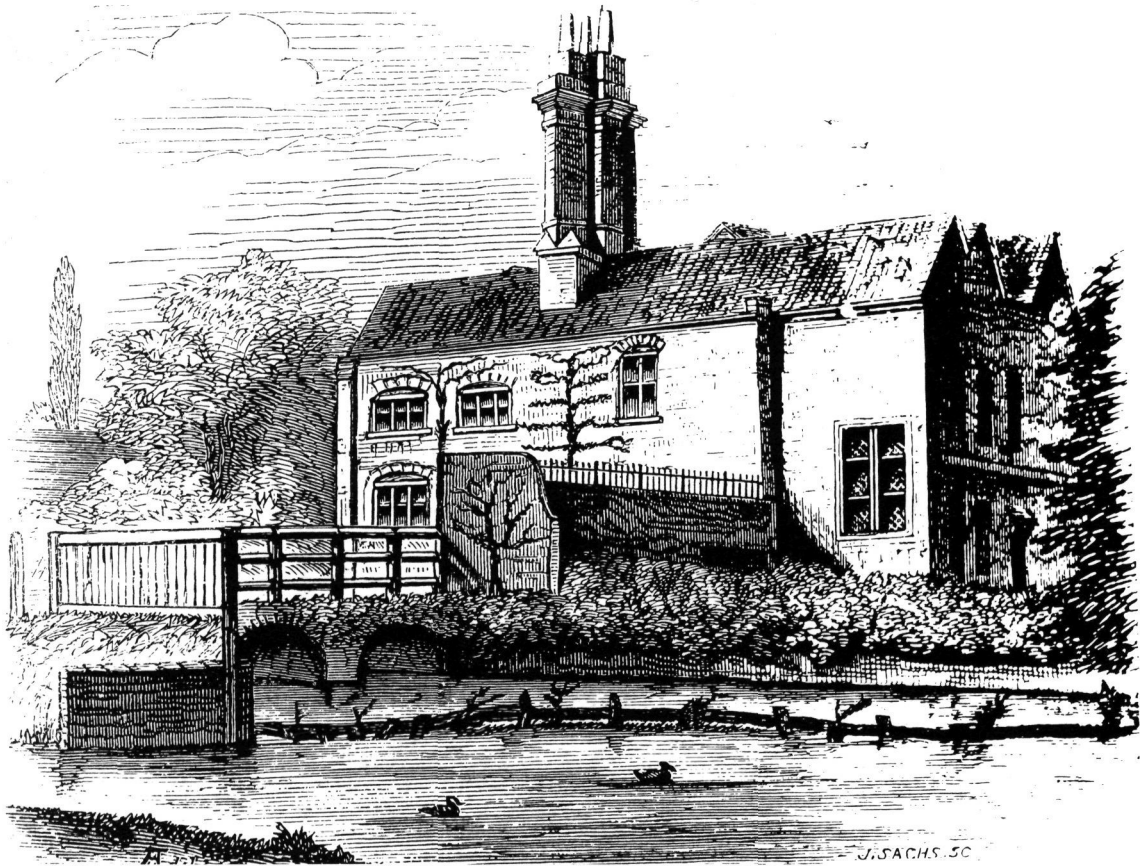


Fig 7. Headstone Manor House in 1867, with the truncated open hall at the right walled off from the entrance yard. Everything from the right of the chimneys dates from the 14th century. This picture is a little more detailed than the only earlier drawing of 1800, except that it omits the right-hand pilaster strip. In the foreground is the farmyard watering-bay, with its retaining fence in the moat (Engraving by Albert Hartshorne of West House, Pinner, printed in *Trans London & Middlesex Arch Soc* III pt IX (1868), 185)

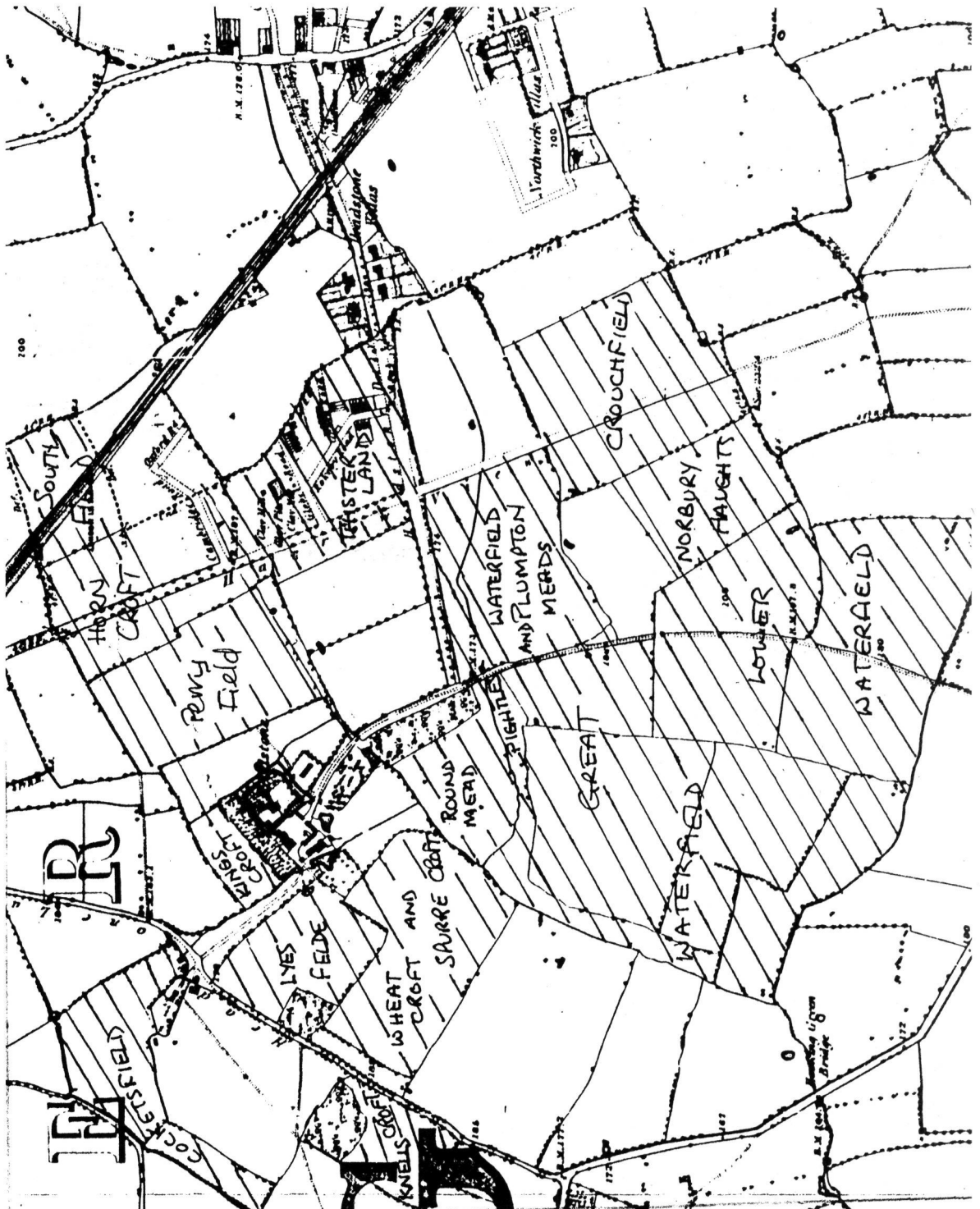
reinstated the area in 1547 rises to a minimum of just over 300 acres.

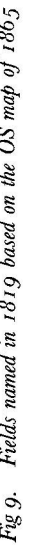
In 1547 about 75% of the fields named were arable, 15% were pasture, and 10% were meadow. These last, the 20 acres of meadow whose hay was to be kept for the archbishop in 1514 – Round Meadow, Three-croft Meadow and Plomstrowe – were still meadow in 1819, lying either side of a stream and by that date called Round Mead and Plumpton Mead. There are allotments on part of Round Meadow today.

Some of the names are descriptive. The Waterfields were alongside the stream; Norbury Harghes (sometimes Narborough Hawes), meaning Norbury enclosures, adjoined the hamlet of Greenhill, previously called Norbury; Thisterlandand Crouchfield, presumably having thistles and crouch grass; Rughcroft, rough grass; Whetecroft is obvious; Knellscroft, probably a

reference to William le Knel or his family; Cockettsfield may have related to a 14th-century tenant in the vicinity called William Coks. The others are as yet unfathomed: Puryfeld (Perry – pears?), Hornecroft, Lyes Field, Spurrecroft, Kingscroft, Southfield, Plumpton Mead.

Area totals cannot always be reconciled. Whilst only 290 acres were included in Rewse's lease of 1621, there were 420 in 1661 and 430 in 1671. In 1716, 1761, and 1783 the total was 450 acres.⁶⁴ As measured by the Enclosure Commissioners the total was 387 acres; as itemised by the estate valuer William Leonard in 1819 it was 405 acres, and in 1840, after some sales and exchanges in connection with the London & Birmingham Railway, it was 417 acres.⁶⁵ Thomas Grimston Bucknall Estcourt sold 408 acres on 19 March 1853 to William Cooper and Francis Harrison.⁶⁶





The railway passed through Harrow and profit from development was in the air. Cooper and Harrison formed a bridge under the railway and planned to lay a road through it called Pinner Drive (it was later renamed Headstone Drive), and athwart this another road, to be called Harrow View.⁶⁷ The existing internal occupation road leading south to Pinner Road would be upgraded.⁶⁸ Meanwhile in 1854 they sold something over 160 acres south of the projected Headstone Drive. On 12 February 1874 they sold the main estate, said to be 189 acres, to Edward York, and he repurchased as much as he could of the other parts, but not until the end of the century did developers begin to buy parts of Headstone.⁶⁹ A block of 73 acres at the south-east corner was sold in March 1899, while 83 separate plots were auctioned in a marquee on the estate on 8 July 1899. There followed sales of smaller areas, to entrepreneurs like Headstone Manor Estates (formerly R G Brightman) and A J King, or to individuals. Land was bought for the building of St George's Headstone in 1906 and on 28 April 1923. 95 acres remained in 1922, and only a nucleus of 63 acres around the house when York's son Edward sold them to Hendon Rural District Council on 22 September 1925 for £8,000.⁷⁰ They were passed to Pinner Parish Council, but returned to the R.D.C. in January 1929 for use as open space.⁷¹

FARMING AT HEADSTONE

Headstone was a mixed farm until the first part of the 19th century. The land was used as set out in the table below, shown in acres (ns means not separately shown). The detail for 1800 comes from Thomas Milne's Land Use Map of London & Environs in 1800.⁷²

The proportion of arable had dropped from approximately two-thirds in 1547 to one half by

the start of the 18th century. If the words pasture and meadow were used accurately (meadow to produce hay, pasture for grazing cattle), there was a marked shift in the 18th century to the production of hay, which had become an increasingly valuable commercial crop, particularly in the environs of London. By 1911 the conversion to meadow was almost complete,⁷³ but there was enough grazing for the farmer to be able to advertise a milk round and dairy produce in 1916.⁷⁴

The estate was surveyed for Estcourt by John Rumball, who reported in October 1840 that 'it is very heavy and expensive tilling land, and... produces heavier corn crops than lighter land, but the great expense of cultivation and the difficulty of catching the seasons aright, prevents its yielding a larger rent than lighter and not so productive land'. The stream running beside Nicholas Long Mead and dividing Headstone from the land of Benjamin Weall was straightened by Weall in 1848. In the ensuing winter a system of drainage using pot and iron pipes was laid in Wheatcroft and Spurcroft, but John Hill's further plan to drain Waterfield South and Lights Mead may or may not have been effected. No numbers of stock exist, though the detailed account of 1819 referred to accommodation for horses, cows, pigs, and hens, and in 1831 duck and goose houses were repaired. While negotiating a mortgage in 1851 the landlord's son wrote criticising Hill's farming methods that he 'had some two or three weeks since discovered that the prosecution of his wretched system of farming could not be prolonged... it is, as you know, strong land requiring good farming, an advantage it has certainly never had'.⁷⁵

Hill employed 14 labourers at the time of the 1851 census, but only five in 1861, a reduction which reflected the land sales of 1853 and a continuing move from arable. The farmer in

year	1621	1661	1671	1716	1800	1819	1911
arable	200	280	250	260	203	156	none
ie wheat						49	
beans						39	
fallow						57	
seeds						11	
meadow	40	100	15	15	189	227	129
pasture	50	20	25	125	ns	3	19
woodland	ns	20	40	50	7	7	6
other, including house	ns	ns	ns	ns	6	6	24
total	290	420	330	450	405	405	178

1871 was John Beaumont. Directories from 1878 to 1886 show Alfred Steavens as the farmer, though in the 1881 census he was described as a chemist. There was a new farmer named Arthur Dean in 1891, and Anthony Hall was there by 1895. He allowed local horse-racing in his fields, but after rowdy behaviour and riot they were discontinued.⁷⁶ They took place in the southern fields in the region of Kingsfield Avenue.⁷⁷

THE FARM BUILDINGS OF THE 19th CENTURY

At least 16 maps or plans from 1754 to 1935 show the buildings, with varying degrees of accuracy as to location or ground plan. The least accurate or useful for this purpose are Rocque (1754) which shows only a basic farm layout; Milne; the 1819 estate map, though building plans are attempted; the 1822 O.S. which is far too small; and the 1874 estate map.

All the maps show the plan of the house on the island virtually as it is now, truncated at the

south-east and extended at the north-east. The garden at the south-east is first indicated in 1840. In the farmyard the great barn and the 'cottages' are always identifiable, and so usually are the little barn, and the stock barn which was still shown on the 1935 map.

Buildings were listed several times. The insurance policy of 1797 listed a large barn and stable, a stable and cowhouses, and three stables. A dozen or so structures were mentioned in the 1819 valuation: a wheat barn and two bean barns; two cowhouses, stables for ten horses, a nag stable, pigsties and a hen house; two cart lodges and a woodhouse. An open sided hay barn, 150-ft long, with posts on brick stumps and a thatched roof, was built in the rickyard, probably by Wilshin, according to the landlord.⁷⁸ The rickyard lay south-east of the moat, and is a car park today. Repair schedules of 1824 and 1831 omit the bean barns but refer to the hay barn; there was a granary on brick foundations; four stables are mentioned – the upper stable near the moat, which included a chaff house, John's stable, the middle stable, and the lower



Fig 10. Headstone cottages about 1905. The chimney stack and the doorhood silhouetted at the right of the gabled building suggest that it is a wing of the cottages just outside the farmyard. The weather-boarded structure is the rear of the stock barn, which was built a few feet from their north-west side. The view is south-east (Courtesy of Harrow Reference Library)



Fig 11. The farmyard about 1926, with the great barn and the house at the rear. All the foreground structures are gone – from the left, the stock barn, the manure pump, the small yard wall, the low stall or corrugated shed, the bullock shed with loft (Drawing by Donald Maxwell, printed in Alan Ball, *The Countryside Lies Sleeping*, 317. Courtesy of Harrow Reference Library)

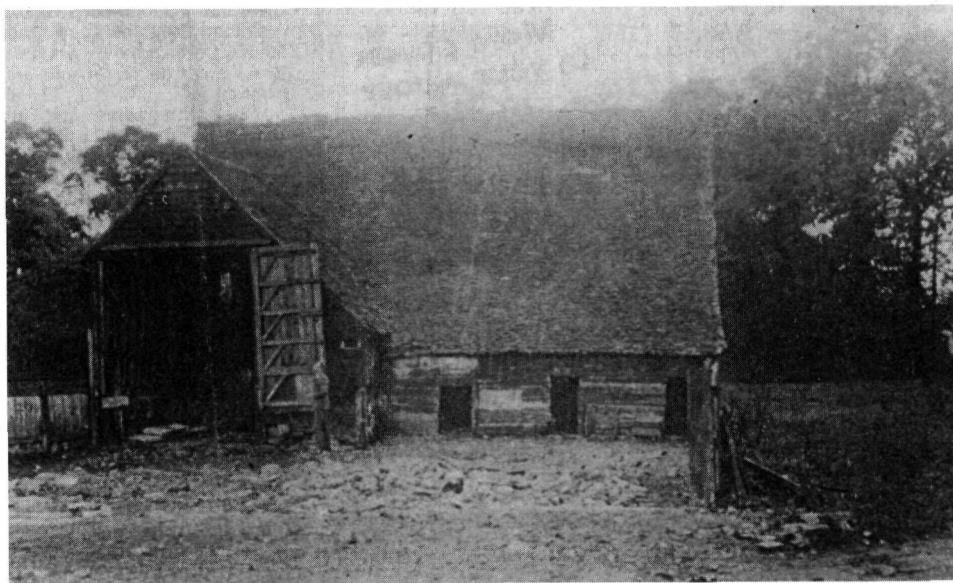


Fig 12. The stock barn described by Hartshorne, during demolition in 1928 (Courtesy of Harrow Observer)

stable; many of the animal houses were of the lean-to type.⁷⁹

The wheat barn is likely to have been the great barn, though it probably had several uses at any one time – including stable, cowhouse, and shed; a cart-lodge still adjoins the rear. The first use of the description ‘barn’ is found in 1911 sale particulars; it is incorrect, but probably represents popular usage.

Albert Hartshorne described some of the farm buildings in 1867.⁸⁰ Of what was probably the stock barn he said ‘the modern barn on the west side of the farmyard at Headstone has been rebuilt with old materials used in new positions, but the ancient arrangement has been in a great measure adhered to’. In the 1911 sale particulars it was ‘a large timber and tiled barn used as a cartshed with three pigsties and yards. Manure



Fig 13. The old farmyard watering-bay, seen at the right, had been boarded up by 1927 (Detail from a drawing by Stanley T Shepherd, 1927, printed in Alan Ball, *The Countryside Lies Sleeping*, 318. Courtesy of Harrow Reference Library)

pump in the meadow adjoining'. A photograph shortly before demolition shows a lofty building with a great waggon-door toward the yard.⁸¹

The present little barn was the upper stable of 1824, probably included in Hartshorne's comment that 'the smaller erections, now converted into stables, appear to be of nearly the same date as the large barn, and are worthy of inspection. They retain the greater part of their original rafters'. In 1911 it would have been among the 'further range of timber and tiled buildings (which) comprise stabling for five horses, chaff house and loft over'.

In 1911 there was 'also in the same range and enclosing a small yard, one stall and loose box and open bullock shed with loft over. Lean-to timber and corrugated iron open bullock shed'. A photograph of about 1921 shows the buildings which enclosed the small yard – stall, loose box and bullock shed with loft, the corrugated shed and the stock barn.⁸² Donald Maxwell's sketch

of about 1926 includes the manure pump also. By the time of Stanley Shepherd's drawing dated 1927 the bullock sheds and yard had gone, but the rest remained.⁸³

THE MOAT

The first map to show the moat was the Harrow Enclosure map of 1817. The tiny spur at the southernmost corner which appears on some maps and postcards was a slope to allow access for livestock or cart-washing. Within the farmyard, a similar small bay in the side of the moat sloped down between the bridge and the small barn, intended for watering stock folded in the yard, with a fence set in the water to prevent them from wandering. It can be seen in the engraving of J P Malcolm dated 1 April 1800, and Hartshorne's of 1867. It is on the O.S. map of 1865 but not the 1898 map, and Shepherd's



Fig 14. The extent of Headstone Manor Recreation Ground, based on the OS map of 1865

drawing of 1927 shows it boarded off from the moat. The retaining walls at each side between island and farmyard were repaired in 1831, but underpinning of the bridge was postponed.⁸⁴

The 1865 map shows rivulets draining in at the northern and eastern points. There were always several rivulets in the fields which were adapted to supply the moat and the many ponds, well exemplified in the sale particulars of 1911. Since the late 1920s the moat has been fed through a culvert from the Yeading brook, which is itself largely culverted hereabouts, and it drains back into another culvert from the south-eastern corner.⁸⁵ When the moat was emptied in 1973 it was estimated that its shape was that of a ditch with a deep central 'V', and that the soft silts went down to a depth of about eleven feet. The silts contained leaf mould of up to 500 years duration. Surface searching produced little, probably because of periodic cleansing – an iron hammer, a broken cauldron and a sickle handle, all thought to be of 18th- or 19th-century date.

THE RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS

Within the main house the front rooms downstairs were remodelled and the front part of the cross-

passage was incorporated into the right-hand one. This happened sometime between 1780 and 1850, to judge by the doors and the corner-cupboard with shaped shelves which was fitted into the former passage space. The door at the front end of the passage may have been taken out of use as being less convenient. Certainly the map of 1865 shows a portico at the site of the present entrance door, implying that it was then the main entrance. The ground plan of the house is otherwise exactly as now, including the single storey extension west of the staircase wing. In 1824 a pantry, shoe room, and men's room needed repair. The men's room may have been in the north-east extension, or the upper south-east extension, each one served by a separate staircase. There was a 'bee house' in the garden. Alongside the moat in the north-west quarter – the 'courtyard' area – there were outhouses for ducks, geese, wood, and brewing. The brewhouse had a hearth plus an associated pump and steps down to the moat.⁸⁶ All had gone by 1896.

The division of the subsidiary house into two cottages must have occurred after Daniel Wilshin junior took over both farms in 1767 but no occupiers are known until the 19th century. In 1841 they were agricultural labourers Richard

Cardle and Thomas Greenfield; in 1851 only gamekeeper George Powell; in 1861 two more labourers, John Webbe and Joseph Buckingham; in 1871 and 1881 William Upton, shepherd; and in 1891 Robert Ball, labourer. The cottages were sometimes called Headstone Cottages. After they had been demolished the main house itself was divided between the farmer and a farm worker, whose name is not known. The farmer had the front rooms up and down, with the main staircase and attic, and the remainder of what are now called the ancient parts; kitchen facilities were installed in the open hall; his entrance was in the staircase hall. The employee had the rest of the staircase wing, and the north-east extension with its own staircase, though the ground floor of the extension was used as a dairy.⁸⁷

HEADSTONE AS PUBLIC PROPERTY

The last farmer of Headstone, Anthony Hall, departed on 12 May 1928. The Hendon R.D.C. recommended that outbuildings other than the great barn should be pulled down, and the tiles reserved for repair to its roof. In October their surveyor proposed removal from the open hall of the sink and cooking range with its chimney, but considered there was 'no point in opening out the roof timbers as these are not in any way interesting'. Another comment however, 'If it is decided at some future date to create here a museum...' foreshadowed the current use.⁸⁸ The open hall and pantry were closed off and occupiers of the rest of the house thereafter were local authority employees, often superintendents of the recreation ground. It was lived in until 1985, when some of it was opened to the public as part of the Harrow Museum and Heritage Centre. Subsequently only the north-east wing was inhabited.

Restoration is imminent, we hope, for the remnants of the house which Roger, the son of John of Ramesey, sold to Robert de Wodehouse in 1332.

Appendix 1: The first schedule of Lettice Rotherham's goods (Bodleian Library, North C.27 (71) p.442)

26 January 43 Eliz.I

Goods of William Willoughby lent in kindness to the said Lettice Rotherham widow of his mother's brother John Rotherham Clerk of the High Court of Chancery and before the wife of Thomas Malby, late of London

Esq. deceased, son and heir of Arthur Malby, Citizen, Executor of Thomas Malbie

The Schedule first mentioned in the indenture

Imprimis goods in the house of late Arthur Malby and Thomas Malby or either of them which were in the house of the said Lettice in the time of her widowhood

Item Such of the goods late Thomas Malby that were at his house called Pinnar in Middlesex that is to say three low stools embroidered with green twist and fringed and a pair of andirons that were in the parlour there priced at eight shillings

Item a featherbed a bolster two pillows a white rug blanket and a (?)down coverlet that were in the little chamber over the great parlour there praised at forty shillings, a (?)feather bedstead of walnut tree with tester valance and curtain of red and green saye, a featherbed, a bolster a mattress a pair of blankets an old coverlet of tapestry and five old pillows which were in the great chamber over the parlour praised at four pounds a large cushion of needlework stuffed with feathers a pair of white blankets two pillows two coverlets the one of tapestry the other of dorney an old valance of blue and yellow which were in the press of the gallery there praised at six and twenty shillings and eightpence

Item an old featherbed a bolster and old blanket and a mattress in the chamber at the further end of the gallery there praised at thirteen shillings and four pence, a featherbed and bolster in the middle chamber in the gallery there praised at forty shillings, a (?)livery bedstead, an old featherbed with a bolster and pillow and an old blanket in the chamber in the higher end of the gallery there praised at thirteen shillings and fourpence, an old feather bed, a bolster, and three blankets in the chamber over the little parlour there praised at twenty shillings

Item four pair of flaxen sheets praised at thirty shillings

Item six pair of tow sheets praised at ten shillings

Item two pair of pillowberes praised at two shillings

Item four table cloths praised at thirteen shillings and fourpence

Item five towels praised at five shillings

Item two dozen of napkins praised at ten shillings

Item two basins eight porringers and two pots of pewter and four candlesticks of brass praised at ten shillings

Item grounds and woods at Chalkwell and Thundersley in Essex

Appendix 2: Field names and uses 1547, 1819 and 1840

field name 1547	area 1547	use 1547	field name 1819	area 1819	use 1819	(use 1840)
Puryfield	12a 1r 15p	arable	Parryfield	16a 1r 36p	arable (fallow)	arable
Hornecroft	6a 0r 8p	arable	Horncroft	9a 0r 3p	arable (fallow)	arable
Thisterland	24a 0r 0p	arable	Thisterlong & Thisterlong Spring	20a 3r 5p + 2a 2r 15p	meadow	
Crouchfield	22a 1r 0p	arable	Crouchfield West	24a 2r 9p	meadow	
Whetecrofts	11a 3r 9p	pasture	Wheatcroft & Spurcroft & Lights Spring	18a 2r 19p	arable (beans)	arable
Spurrecroft	4a 3r 0p	arable				
Lyes Felde	5a 3r 0p	arable				
Great Waterfield	41a 0r 20p	arable	6 fields with Waterfield in name	64a 2r 25p	arable	
Little Waterfield	48a 0r 20p	arable	(Upper, Middle, Lower, South, West, North)		(north, west, south)	arable
Kingscroft	3a 1r 20p	pasture	Kingscroft	3a 2r 28p	grass	grass
Southfield	4a 3r 7p	pasture	Southfield	8a 1r 27p	meadow	grass
Norbury Harghes/Haughts	10a 0r 0p	pasture	Narborough Haws	11a 1r 28p	arable (seeds)	
The Pightle	1a 2r 20p	pasture	Pighdes	2a 0r 1p	meadow	grass
Cockettsfield	7a 2r 20p	pasture	Cockles Field	10a 2r 29p		
Rughcroft	2a 2r 0p	pasture				
Knellscroft	4a 3r 0p	pasture	Knells	6a 1r 24p	arable (beans)	
Plumpton & Waterfield Meads	18a 0r 0p	meadow	Plumpton Mead	18a 2r 3p	meadow	grass

Between 1547 and 1819 the basic uses of Puryfield, Hornecroft, Whetecroft and Spurrecroft, Little (North, West and South?) Waterfield, Kingscroft, Southfield, the Pightle, Cockettsfield and Plumpton Mead seem not to have changed.

Appendix 3: Occupiers of the subsidiary house

1690 John Clifford
1726-57 Daniel Wilshin senior

As divided into two (from census returns)

1841 Richard Cardle and Thomas Greenfield
1851 George Powell
1861 John Webbe and Joseph Buckingham
1871 William Upton
1881 the same
1891 Robert Ball

NOTES

¹ Detailed reports have been made for the London Borough of Harrow: *The Manor House, Headstone* by Malcolm Airs, of the Historic Buildings Division of the Department of Architecture & Civic Design, Greater London Council (1972; LBH ref AR/HB/3969), is the pioneer account for both architecture and history; Leisure Committee 13.9.1989, *Report of the Director of Architecture & Planning, Appendix 2, Historical Analysis of the Building* by Richard Harris; *Report of Selective Archaeological Recording at Headstone Manor, Harrow*, by D & B Martin, Field Archaeology Unit, Institute of Archaeology, University College London.

² W D Bushell 'Harrow Church: the endowment of the vicarage' *Harrow Octocentenary Tracts* ix, 10-16.

³ Canterbury, Eastbridge Hospital Archives, H 1-14.

⁴ LMA Acc. 76/2414, m6.

⁵ LMA Acc. 1052 fo 447; LMA Acc 76/2423 m12.

⁶ See Airs and Harris, *op cit* (note 1). The roof of an aisled hall depended on the intermediate support of an arcade of posts which visually and physically impeded movement within it. At Headstone only the end posts of the arcade were retained, those between being replaced by one or more tie beams spanning the full width of the hall, 25 ft, so that the floor space of the hall was quite clear.

⁷ This also is an unusual feature. There were similar windows at Upton Court, Slough, Bucks. See B Cherry and N Pevsner *The Buildings of England, London 3: North West* (1991), 280.

⁸ During electricity installation in summer 1987 flint footings were uncovered in the north-west courtyard, personal observation.

⁹ R Howard, R Laxton & C Litton 'Tree-ring dates' *Vernacular Architecture* 27 (1996), 78.

¹⁰ CP 25(1)/150/55, 54 and 62.

¹¹ BM Addl MS 15664 fo 17, 'Inquis. ad quod dampnum'.

¹² For Langham see Cant & York Soc liii.95b pp 293, 294, 381. For the other two see W Done Bushell, 'Our Moated Grange' programme of the Grand Bazaar in aid of the permanent church project of St. George's Church, Headstone, 1910, 37-41. No references are given. The date of the letter, 10.3.1368, is seven

months before Whittlesey was provided to the see and ten months before he was granted the temporalities.

¹³ Cant & York Soc xlv, pp 284, 296.

¹⁴ *VCH Middx* vol IV, 220-1.

¹⁵ Cal Inq Misc vi, 123-4.

¹⁶ Lambeth Palace E.D. 1213 m 9.

¹⁷ LMA Acc. 76/2431.

¹⁸ Cal Inq Misc vi, 123-4.

¹⁹ LMA Acc. 76/2417, m 101; LMA Acc. 76/2413, m 38.

²⁰ Canterbury Cathedral Library Reg G fo 223v.

²¹ Cal Inq Misc vi, 123-4.

²² Canterbury Cathedral Library Reg S fos 137v, 198v.

²³ Canterbury Cathedral Library Reg T fos 121v, 294v; LMA Acc. 1052, fo 447.

²⁴ The accounts are at LMA Acc. 76/2431 and Lambeth Palace E.D. 1213-20, 1343-52, 1361, 2051.

²⁵ LMA Acc. 76/2416, m 11.

²⁶ LMA Acc. 76/2431, m 53.

²⁷ LMA Acc. 1052, fo 447.

²⁸ The roof timbers at that end were previously part of a crown-post roof, which would accord with the 15th-century or earlier date of the gatehouse, and with its likely size.

²⁹ PRO Deeds of Purchase and Exchange, D78; L & P Henry VIII xxi, pt i, 72.

³⁰ LMA Acc. 76, 222a fo 16.

³¹ NRA Salisbury Papers no. 9.

³² P.C.C. 56 Cobham.

³³ P.C.C. 50 Wallopp.

³⁴ P.C.C. 4 Woodhall.

³⁵ The first schedule: Bodleian Lib North MSS c. 27, no. 71, p 442; printed as Appendix 1. The second schedule: Bodleian Lib North MSS b. 12, fo 71, p 442; references to Willoughby's rooms in this show that it concerns items at Seymours. Malbie was assessed for the Lay Subsidy of 31 October 1598 as a resident of Pinner, on goods only; see P.R.O., E178/142/239.

³⁶ Lambeth Palace, VH 96/541.

³⁷ Bodleian Lib. North MSS c.10 fo. 8 and 12. Also a Simon Rewse married Alice Penifather on 22 January 1598 at Bayford, Herts, some seven miles from Brocket Hall.

³⁸ LMA Acc. 76, 421.

³⁹ CP 25(2)/324/11.

⁴⁰ CP 25(2)/324/11.

⁴¹ PRO PROB 11.177 fo 80.

⁴² LMA Acc. 76, 1095c.

⁴³ LMA Acc. 974 Tom IV, m. 5 & 50.

⁴⁴ SP/23/131 fo 655; the following account is based on this report to the Committee dated 26 January 1653 and on SP/23/223 fo 783 and SP/23/131 fo 549.

⁴⁵ Herts R.O. D/EGO T2, nos 85-102 for all transactions 1661-85.

⁴⁶ He should have been of age by 30 October 1657 when he witnessed the will of William Wilkinson of Woodhall: P.C.C. 422 Pell.

⁴⁷ Save the rights to the free rents of Headstone, of ground rent, which Rewse had never owned and

which Sir William Bucknall bought in 1674: Herts R.O. D/EGo T2, no. 95.

⁴⁸ And see the report for London Borough of Harrow by Dr M Airs of the Historic Buildings Division of the Department of Architecture & Civic Design, Greater London Council, 1972.

⁴⁹ P A Clarke 'Who needs cocaine?' *Pinner Local History Newsletter* 43 (August 1987), 18.

⁵⁰ LMA Acc. 76, 421.

⁵¹ Herts R.O. D/EGo T2, no. 102.

⁵² LMA, DRO8 A, Pinner Parish Registers; P.C.C. 30 Land.

⁵³ LMA, HTA 5MR/TH/5, HT 26.

⁵⁴ E J Chapman, 'Sir William Bucknall of Oxhey Place, Watford 1629-1676' *Hertfordshire Past* 21 (Autumn 1986), 12-15.

⁵⁵ Herts R.O. D/EGo E48, E8.

⁵⁶ LMA, DRO8 B1/1, D1/1.

⁵⁷ MDR, 1761.2.254.

⁵⁸ LMA, DRO8, Pinner Parish Registers.

⁵⁹ Personal observation.

⁶⁰ Guildhall Lib, Sun Fire Office, policy 227326, 1767, the book is missing. Reported in *The Villager* 31, 25 (journal of The Pinner Association).

⁶¹ Guildhall Lib, Sun Fire Office, policy 663426, 5.1.1797, the book is missing. Reported in *The Harrow Observer* 11.11.1929.

⁶² LMA Acc. 1052 fo 447.

⁶³ Herts R.O. D/EGo E48, Pg.

⁶⁴ Herts R.O. D/EGo T2, 103; MDR 1761.2.254; MDR 1783.1.263.

⁶⁵ Herts R.O. D/EGo E48, P10.

⁶⁶ MDR 1853.5.14.

⁶⁷ Illustrated in Alan W Ball *Paintings, Prints and Drawings of Harrow on the Hill* (1978), 27 and *The Countryside Lies Sleeping* (1981), 320.

⁶⁸ MDR 1854.4.520.

⁶⁹ MDR 1854.4.387-8; MDR 1874.6.307; MDR 1874.12.314.

⁷⁰ MDR 1922.6.684; MDR 1925.35.915.

⁷¹ London Borough of Harrow, Deed Packet D63.

⁷² London Topographical Society, Publications 118 & 119.

⁷³ Harrow Reference Library, Sale Particulars 1911.

⁷⁴ Harrow Reference Library 6/152, undated cutting from *Harrow Observer*.

⁷⁵ Herts R.O. D/EGo E48.

⁷⁶ *Harrow Observer* 26.5.1899 and 7.3.1975.

⁷⁷ Personal information from J H Bright, once of Bolton Road, 24.10.1987.

⁷⁸ Herts R.O. D/EGo E48, letter 4.3.1836 Estcourt to Hill.

⁷⁹ Herts R.O. D/EGo E48.

⁸⁰ A Hartshorne 'Headstone Manor' *Trans London & Middlesex Arch Soc* III pt IX (1868), 185.

⁸¹ *Harrow Midweek Observer & Gazette* 1.8.1972.

⁸² Reproduced in 'Headstone Manor Harrow, a preliminary structural survey of the ancient and remaining parts for the London Borough of Harrow' by Julian Harrap Architects, August 1985.

⁸³ Both are printed in Alan W Ball *The Countryside Lies Sleeping* (1981), 317-18.

⁸⁴ Herts R.O. D/EGo E48, 1824, 1831, 1836.

⁸⁵ This and the rest of the paragraph is based on a report 'Work on Headstone Manor Moat' by P Snell, of Pinner Local History Society in 1973, and comments thereon made in 1975 by M Thorne, formerly of the Architects Dept., L.B. Harrow.

⁸⁶ Herts R.O. D/EGo E48, 1824, 1831.

⁸⁷ Harrow Reference Library, Sale Particulars 1911.

⁸⁸ Details from London Borough of Harrow papers PH/12/b (i) Headstone Manor.